2: Marra E-4 (no date) 1943 SDA Coyapa SDA

There is some evidence of patrilineality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the Coyapa tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Verde, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, tenientes políticos, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black thorn wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The Coyapa pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indian Brawn were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal animal ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The bridal couple sleep together at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession to political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1903-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

At an early age the girls are instructed in household duties of all kinds, and often begin to spin and weave, as well as to make pottery, basketry, and other articles, at the age of five or six years. They also take a hand in agriculture when very small. As they grow older and become more proficient in these various arts, they enter more and more into the regular daily work of the home, until they finally marry, which they usually do at an early age, often at about seventeen or eighteen years.

The daily life of the men is also a busy one. They do their share of the work in the fields, besides being industrious hunters and fishermen. They are expert woodworkers, making very excellent canoes, paddles, benches, images used as toys by children, musical instruments, certain cooking utensils, and various other objects of wood. They make and tend the fish corrals, as well as set the seines when the water is in a favorable condition to divert fish to certain places. In addition to trapping and netting fish, they also do much fishing with hook and line. They hunt a great deal and procure a very important part of the food supply in that way, for the jungle abounds in many kinds of game. When about the house, they are, like the women, almost always busy at something, as adzing a canoe, weaving a net, or doing some one of the many kinds of work which fall to the man's lot in the Cayapa division of labor. Since the introduction of needles and thread among the Cayapa, the men have taken up sewing and have become very efficient tailors for their simple needs.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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462 The women do all the spinning and weaving of cloth,
512 but the men sew all garments, not only for themselves
294 but also for the small boys who have not yet learned to
[291] sew. This is due largely no doubt to the fact that the single garment worn by the women requires no sewing whatever, while the two garments worn by the men must be sewn.

●868 At a very early age boys begin to learn the arts practised by their elders, hence they are instructed in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and similar useful accomplishments of the men.

512 It is customary among the Cayapa to arise at dawn, usually between five and five-thirty o'clock, and to retire as soon as darkness comes, or between six-thirty and seven o'clock. These hours vary little throughout the year, owing to the proximity of the equator.

[527] The daily routine is usually about the same throughout the year, varying in event of a fiesta, or boda, which brings the people together at a particular village, from which, after some days of festivities, they return home.

[484] Another diversion is going down the river to the settlements. Sometimes this trip is made almost purely for
[439] pleasure and to obtain oysters and other sea foods, but more often these pleasure trips are combined with the selling of tagua, cacao, rubber, or plantains, and occasionally logs for lumber.

593 One of the most characteristic features of the daily life of the Cayapa is the devotion of the members of a family toward one another, especially that of parents toward their children. Few restrictions are placed

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

few restrictions are placed upon the children, and punishment is very rarely necessary. The children usually play together amicably, and the considerate care given by elder children to their young brothers and sisters is especially noticeable. The agriculture practised by the Cayapa requires a great deal of labor in connection with the various crops, especially plantains, sugar-cane, and cacao. In this cultivation the whole family joins, the children, even when very small, cheerfully doing their share in clearing away the weeds and brush that grow so rapidly in the tropics, and in harvesting the crops.

The children have various amusements, though no games in the ordinary sense of the term. They have several kinds of toys. Musical tops, such as those shown in pl. LXXXV, 2–5, made of gourds and certain large nuts, are much used. Wooden dolls of various mammal, bird, and human forms, such as those shown in pl. LXXXIV, are also much used. They have toy canoes varying from a few inches to several feet in length, and toy paddles for use with them. These canoes and paddles they use a great deal, especially when swimming, which is a very common and healthful amusement among both sexes.

The children are trained to this canoe life from infancy, and one of the first toys of a child is a paddle. At a very early age children are instructed in its use, so that even at the age of five or six years a child can take a small canoe and paddle along the river for short distances.

The children also play with small baskets, fans, mats,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

calabash. Now and then a small ca'lya is cut into halves and used in the manner of the hemispherical calabash dish called in Spanish mate. The globose calabash yields seven types of utensils. Of these the water-calabash (used as a receptacle for storing water), the small trinket calabash, and the cotton-wad calabash (used with the blowgun), are made from the whole fruit and are therefore globose in form. The mate, the sieve, the dipper, and the skimmer, are each made from half of one of these fruits, and consequently are hemispherical.

The spherical calabashes, such as those shown in pl. LXIII and pl. LXV, are called wa'iyû and are used for carrying and storing water. They consist almost invariably of the large, entire, globular fruit, with a small opening made at or near the stem for filling and pouring. Such a calabash sometimes measures a foot or more in diameter, and each of the women and girls of the household has usually two at least in number, which she keeps filled and on the water rack near the fire-box. Even little girls have one or two small calabashes, which they regularly fill and use in connection with the cooking, in which art they learn to assist while very young. This smaller spherical calabash is used as a receptacle for various other articles: those measuring from two to four inches in diameter are used to hold such trinkets as fish-hooks and the like, while the smallest ones, called le'meta, are for containing the red and yellow achote used as face-paint.

When gathered green, calabashes are filled with a mass of fairly hard white seeds and pulp, which are removed

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silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over a black cotton undershirt /ʌ˥ĩn˥a/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the man's shirt fashions. A belt secures the undershirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt.

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For dancing or for receiving the blows of the cat-o-nine-tails /istɛ̃ĩva/ as punishment, the woman puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork.

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Manufactures. Woodworking: It is immediately apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn

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to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kahila/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

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Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

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by the children.

Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camerones at Encanto which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular. Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.